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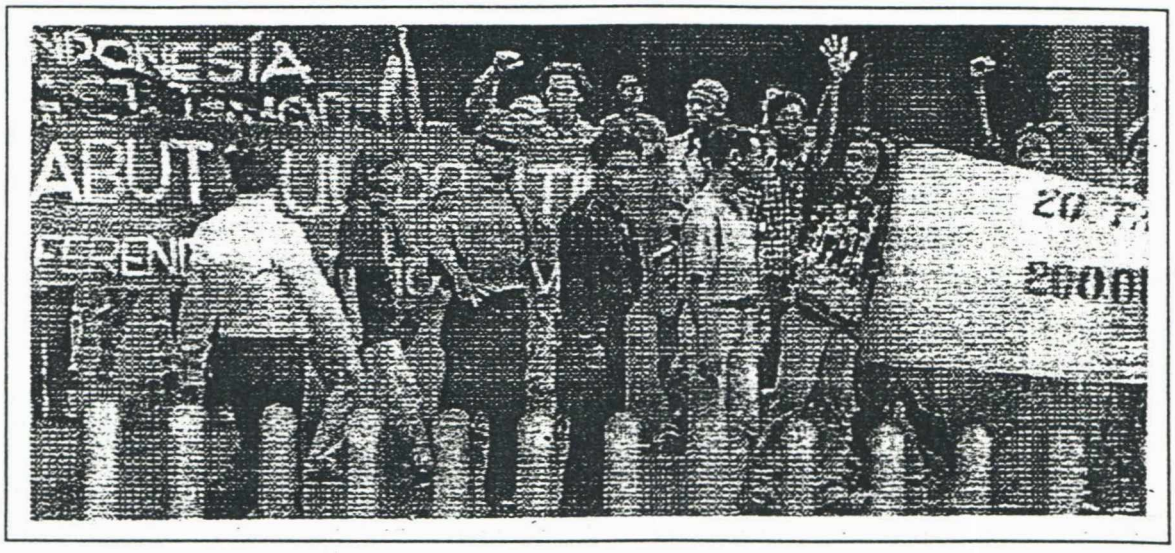
THE INDONESIAN PRO-DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT AND MAUBERE PEOPLES' INDEPENDENCE



SOLIDARITAS PERJUANGAN RAKYAT INDONESIA UNTUK MAUBERE

THE INDONESIAN PRO-DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT AND MAUBERE PEOPLES' INDEPENDENCE

The following is a position paper prepared by Solidaritas Perjuangan Rakyat Indonesia dengan Maubere (SPRIM - Indonesian Peoples Solidarity Struggle with the Maubere People), formed in March, 1995

SPRIM is made up of

PPBI (Centre for Indonesian Labour Struggles)
SMID (Students in Solidarity with Democracy in Indonesia)
STN (National Peasants Union)
JAKER (Peoples Artists Network)

CCONTLI (Comicao Cordenadora Organisacoes Nasionalista Timor Leste),
RENETIL (Resistencia Estudante Nasionalista Timor Leste),
GOD (Groupos Onze),
AST (Assosiacao Sosialista de Timor)
ANVISTI (Comite Activade nao Violencio e Solidardade Timorense).

SOLIDARITAS PERJUANGAN RAKYAT INDONESIA UNTUK MAUBERE
SPRIM-1996

Background

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the pro-democracy movement in Indonesian has succeeded in emerging and pressuring the New Order regime economically and politically. This movement, spearheaded by worker, student and peasant actions, has been successful in revealing the horror, brutality and injustice which has been experienced by the Indonesian people under the New Order regime. Thus, the Maubere peoples' struggle for independence, the Maubere peoples' agitation for the independence struggle, will have a positive basis of hope if it also rests on the pro-democracy movement - primarily the labour, student and peasant movement - which has the strength to deal a sure blow against the New Order regime,

Since the New Order seized power after slaughtering two million Indonesian people in 1965, Indonesia has pursued an economic development policy of promoting industrialisation through an invitation for the reentry of foreign capital and the accumulation of foreign debt. To protect and guarantee the interests of foreign capital, in 1967 the Foreign Investment Regulations were enacted. Moreover, in inviting the entry of foreign capital, the attraction was based upon natural resource wealth and a cheep and submissive labour force.

In the beginning, the strategy of industrialisation was an Import Substitution strategy. Because of a rapid drop in the price of oil on the world market and pressure to pay the foreign debt, the New Order regime was forced to change this industrialisation strategy to one of Export Oriented Industrialisation (EOI). Following this, the middle manufacturing industries emerged who's products were exported to earn non-oil export based foreign exchange. The

new industrial zones, which were established in cities such as Jakarta-Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasi (JABOTABEK), South, East and West Bandung, Gresik - Bangkalan - Mojokerto - Surabaya - Sidoarjo - Lamongan, Semarang, Medan and Ujung Padang, developed rapidly. The manufacturing industry's reserve army of labour was quite large. From data which was recorded in 1980, this sector employed 4.2 million workers; in 1985 this increased to 5.8 million; and by 1990 it had reached 8.2 million; while, by November 1993, there were 10.5 million workers employed in the manufacturing sector (*Republika*, 20 December 1993).

Industrial development has already put labour in the position of being the strategic social section of the Indonesian economy. The strategic position of labour can be seen most of all in the increasing contribution by the industrial sector in comparison to oil and gas and the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The contribution of the manufacturing sector to non-oil and gas exports reached 45 percent of all exports, and makes up 16 percent of the GDP (Source World Bank, 1993; Vedi Hadiz, "Labour, Politics and Industrialisation"; and *Republika*, January 1994).

The strategic role of labour in the Indonesian economy is certainly not proportional to their standard of living. Workers' lives and conditions are not just very poor in the factories themselves but outside the workplace as well. The wages and allowances received are simply too low to live a normal life. Imagine, the minimum wage at the end of the 5th Five Year Development Plan only reached 73 percent of minimum physical needs, and that was only obtained by 62 percent of Indonesian workers. (*Republika*, 30 December 1993). There are no guarantees of work safety and the safety conditions in factories mean workers constantly face the risk of injury or illness. To contain the cost of

production, there is a tendency by many companies to not list their workers for workers compensation or medical insurance (*Republika*, 3 January 1994). The recent changes in these schemes (from ASTEK to JAMSOSTEK) also clearly lowered workers' guarantees of health and safety. Frequently there are pressures to work continuous overtime which can damage the physical health of workers. As in the case of the experience of workers in a photographic framing factory in Cilengsi, Bogor. They were forced to work overtime without any time limits, and if they refused, the were forced to resign (*Kompas*, 1 February 1993). At a factory in Kalideres, West Jakarta, the company did not prepare enough food for worker; imagine, a night-shift employee working from 11 p.m. to 7 a.m. the next morning, and the company only provided a single slice of bread. The result is that workers' must work with empty and painful stomachs (*Kompas*, 19 January 1993). At a export canning company, P.T. Ganfa Guna Indonesia, may workers have lost fingers due to the poor safety conditions; in the printing section in a canning company for export in the Pluit industrial zone, how many workers have had their lungs perforated; and the many other accidents just in this one factory.

The minimum wage forces workers to live in tiny quarters -- no more than two by three meters -- occupied by three to six workers, the streets are dirty and muddy, with insufficient facilities, particularly sanitation. In general, the quarters occupied by workers are old and unhealthy. The living areas located around the factories are often polluted with industrial waste. This pollution results from dumping of industrial waste in water channels, polluting springs and creating a putrid smell, or smoke and dust from factories (such as the environment surrounding the Cibinong cement factory) where air pollution is causing coughs or lung

disease for workers and their families who live near the factory.

Siding with the companies is the SPSI (government controlled All Indonesian Trade Union) The SPSI Work Units more often than not acts in partnership with the company to oppress workers. The bad quality and integrity of SPSI has even been admitted to by the Secretary General of SPSI, W. Bokha, who said that many SPSI leaders originate from the civil service appointments and easily accept bribes (*Kompas*, 19 December 1992). In reality, the New Order turned SPSI into the only labour organisation which may officially represent workers. The aim of making SPSI the only organisation which is "sanctioned" by the government is intended to prevent strikes, (Trisukses, No 8/1/ThVII, December 1992). In all the cases, the picture is one of Indonesian workers' suffering and this makes up the key issue at this time.

Departing from the above issues however, the objective conditions of the labour movement since the 1990s indicate a very encouraging development. Worker actions break out continuously, almost every day newspapers carry articles on strikes or worker demonstrations. An increase can be found both in the quantity and quality of these actions:

Quantitatively, since the 1990s, the number of strikes has jumped dramatically compared to previous years. In the years 1986 to 1990, there were 46 worker actions per year on average, in 1991, 114 cases occurred. While according to SPSI records, in four provinces in Java, in 1992, 344 strike occurred and in 1993, a total of 343 strike. The largest number of strikes occurred in the light manufacturing, although it has already begun to spread to other sectors, such as the service sectors -- hotels, banks and hospitals --

and the transport sector such as city transport strikes, buses, and even in the state shipping company P.T. PAL. The location of the strikes was initially restricted to the industrial zones around Jakarta, now they have broadened to industrial zones in other cities all across Indonesia. In 1994, Indonesian workers held a total of 1,126 strikes. Totaling around 2.8 million lost hours, and at a cost of 240 billion Rupiah. The largest number of strikes, 581, occurred in West Java (in particular JABOTABEK) with East Java recording 200, North Sumatra 140, Jakarta 126, Central Java 54, Riau 5, West Kalimantan 3 and South Sumatra 1. This increased 350 percent on the previous year's total of 312.

Qualitatively, the development of the utilisation of different means of struggle to achieve labour demands can also be seen. The use of posters, banners, and distribution of written material has begun to be common place in labour actions; and these actions are no longer just restricted to factories but are involving large numbers of workers protesting to parliament and in marches and rallies through major streets leading to parliament, the Ministry of Labour offices, and Governor's offices; and some times actions beak out in several factories in the same industrial zone; rallies involving workers from a number of factories joining to achieve their demands; in Solo, 11,000 workers from P.T. Batik Karis, after a one day strike on February 1, 1994, held a rally at the Department of Labour. They were able to meet with the Ministry of Labour and blocked streets causing the Minister to be two hours late to the Indonesian Employers Association conference opening at the National Monument in Solo; at the same time strikes were held at 15 factories in the Berikat Nusantara zone, more than 50,000 workers from 23 factories in Medan took their protests to parliament and the Governor's office; furthermore, of late, workers have

begun forming alliances with students in the same way as alliances have developed between peasants and students -- we have seen for example such student and worker alliances in Tangerang, Jakarta and Semarang. More recent actions show an unusual militancy. In Tangerang, hundreds of P.T. Sangrox Indahwa workers marched to the local parliament in a rally stretching 15 kilometers long.

P.T. CPS workers held a strike despite the recent killing of a work mate, Marsinah; in Medan, in the mist of violence by security personnel, thousands of workers continued to rally and demonstrate for around a week; the death of their comrades (like Patriono and Marsinah in East Java and Rusli in Medan) failed to frighten workers, and rather, it created a united worker solidarity.

The demands now being presented have also developed; no longer just focusing on "normative" demands, but including challenges against government policy and intervention and violence by the state, which had so far terrorised workers; as an example, the demands which were presented by the worker action in Medan included demands for a rise in the regional minimum wage, the withdrawal of Ministry of Labour Decree Number 01/1994, and an investigation into the death of Rusli which is widely believed to have been done by security forces; now, spearhead by PPBI (Centre for Indonesian Working Class Struggle) workers' demands have become more political; aside from demanding a national minimum wage of 7,000 Rupiah, they have also demanded a free trade union, an end to military interference in industrial and labour affairs, along with the withdrawal of five politically repressive laws -- laws on mass organisations; political parties, general elections, parliamentary positions and regulations and referendums.

And, this positive development, caused by a growing momentum in the student movement, has begin to change the sectarian, campus orientated character to that of a broader political struggle. The student struggle has begun to change it's methods of propaganda work which previously, had been restricted to the limited to the sphere of students on campus, to mass propaganda work among workers, peasants and the urban poor. The development of the labour movement (strike actions) which was so marked in 1994, succeeded in capturing the sympathy of the progressive layers of the middle class (primarily students), and the result was that popular sentiment began to cut into the issues which had begun to be raised by the student movement; aside from this was the appearance of a qualitative development in workers' methods of struggle, due to the push from the developing student movement; that is, uniting workers and students, so that they were no longer alone in struggling for their rights and interests, but starting to work jointly in student-worker alliance actions.[1]

In a de facto manner, workers have already achieved an alternative trade union aside from SPSI. The sole trade union policy brought in by the regime, that is SPSI, to control and weaken labour resistance, has become increasingly difficult to implement. A number of independent trade unions outside of SPSI already exist which have not been able to be prohibited or disbanded by the regime: SBM (Free Trade Union Setiakawan), SBSI (Indonesian Trade Union for Prosperity), SBT (Transport Union), and finally PPBI. SBSI -- which was established without the regimes agreement, and which on a number of occasions has made demands for the freedom of workers to organise, a minimum wage of 7,000 Rupiah, and the acceptance of SPSI through a national strike and finally the strikes and demonstrations in Medan -- has not been able to be

disbanded by the regime. Moreover, recently, and for the first time, the Department of Labour has been prepared to have negotiations with SPSI leaders. Similarly with PPBI, which just recently called for a national rally in Jakarta and Semarang -- in the framework, and for the first time in the history of the New Order regime, to commemorate May Day on May 1 -- with a national minimum wage demand of 7,000 Rupiah, freedom to organise, ending military intervention in industrial and labour affairs, and with the distributing a national leaflet to campaign for the above three demands, politically, the regime was not able to take any kind of action at all.

PPBI was initially established at a congress in Ambarawa, Central Java, on 22-23 October, 1994. Around 100 delegates attended representing workers from factory committees primarily from cities such as Jakarta, Tangerang, Bogor, Yogyakarta, Semarang, Solo, Salatiga, Surarabaya and Medan. This founding congress adopted the public slogan: "Resist Oppression, Advance Labour" (in the final development, after students and peasants alliance actions had become more concrete, PPBI then adopted the joint slogan -- "One Struggle, One Transformation"; Reduce Prices, Increase Wages"; "Withdraw Law 5" and the special/sectoral slogan -- "A National Wage of 7,000 Rupiah Now"; "A Free Trade Union"; "End Military Intervention".) PPBI also adopted a public program of demands. The key elements this public program included: an increase in wages and compensation; improvements in working conditions and health standards; ending government policies which maintain low wages; returning the right of workers to form their own organisations; the right of workers to gather, freedom to express opinion and go on strike; a reevaluation of anti-labour regulations and laws; ending military intervention in industrial and labour affairs; the direct

involvement of workers in the formulation of policies which affect workers; ending all forms of discrimination against women workers; and ending child labour.

The program of demands included the establishment of a national daily wage of 5,000 Rupiah (as mentioned above, now the campaign of PPBI is for a national daily wage of 7,000 Rupiah), a reevaluation of Ministry of Labour Regulation Number 01/84 which only permits one government yellow trade union, SPSI, a new progressive-tax system which may only be applied for people who's monthly wage is above one million Rupiah, and regulations covering minimum redundancy payments. PPBI also demanded the formation of a democratic and independent justice system, which would provide explicit sanctions against companies who violate labour rights.

The process of building established factory committees had already been running for at least five years. Ex-students, and similarly young workers, initially worked to build labour support groups, and then to establish factory committees. These committees were able to lead factory struggles demanding wage improvements and the freedom to organise in separate factory for several years. PPBI is the forth independent trade union organisation which has been able to be established in Indonesia. It already has 300 leading organisers, and estimates it has between 10,000 and 15,000 active supporters, and this is now growing rapidly.

The student movement after the 1980s, which reemerged by taking up methods of mass action, has made no small contribution to the destruction of the "culture of silence" in Indonesian society, which resulted from the depoliticisation applied by the New Order regime for more than thirty years. The gains from these accumulated mass actions for other

parties also provided broad political training, not only for student activists directly involved, but also covering a large portion of other students not involved in mass action, moreover, broader society as well. We can see the positive effect of this from the lively actions and strikes which have sprung up in many social sectors. The experience of these student action were responded to and became examples for broader layers of people, as a new method of struggle and demanding their rights and interests.

History notes that the student movement under the New Order has experienced a number of revivals which in the end failed. The experience of the 1966, 1977 and 1978 student movements, provided valuable lessons on errors and about how to fulfill the material conditions so that the student movement can become the vanguard for the creation of a democratic society, so it can develop in the direction of a mass democratic movement. A high level of collaboration (self conciseness) between the political elite and the Indonesian military and the sectarian nature (self-isolation from the essence of democratic strength: workers, peasants and other oppressed social groups), along with a lack of experience in leading and organising the masses, was one of the characteristics of the student movement of the 1980s, and one of the roots of the failures and errors which were experienced by the student movement before the period of the 1980s.

Because of this, the lessons of the student movement's experience of errors and mistakes in the period before the 1980s, they have now regained a consciousness of their movement in the capacity to objectively understand the student movement within the broader context, that is, how to base their actions on the result of conclusions drawn from understanding the Indonesian social structure and the

primary social problems of Indonesian society, along with understanding the essence of democratic strength which will become a partner in their struggle. Up until this time -- viewed from their development -- as a product of their new character, the student movement is now capable of obtaining broad social support and reaching the level of becoming a part of the total democratic movement.

The establishment of SMID, as a national organisation with a progressive, social and radical character, is extremely favorable from the perspective of the democratic struggle in Indonesia. SMID has been established since 1991, as a result of a consolidation which involved student activists originating from a number of cities, such as Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Semarang, Solo and Bandung. In the beginning, SMID worked using semi-legal methods; in all of its activities -- discussions and mass actions -- SMID still uses the name of the organisation which joined with SMID, such as Yogyakarta Student Solidarity, the Solo Student Association, Semarang Student Solidarity, Jakarta Student Solidarity, and the Manado Student Secretariat.

Moving on from an analysis of the national political situation --which draws the conclusion that with the "retaking" of a number of democratic aspects (although this can still be seized by the regime), moreover after a number of alternative legal organisations have been established without being able to be prevented by the regime, an opportunity for the movement exists to more broadly increase the consciousness and demands of democratic people -- thus in the middle of 1994, SMID took the decision to change the method of its struggle toward a legal, political method, as an open, mass movement.

The existence of SMID in the legal, political arena was initiated with the organisation of a Special Congress attended by around two hundred people from seven SMID branches, conducted on the 1st and 2nd of August 1994, in Puncak, Bogor (with harassment and arrests by local police) and then on August 3, at the offices of the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute in Jakarta (YLBHI), SMID was able to legally declare itself and its political program, which had been decided on at the special congress.

From that time, SMID began to use open political methods. All of the organisations' activities, both in discussion and actions and mass campaigns, were carried out under SMID's flag and banner; the first open mass action carried out since SMID declared itself was an joint action with Kepuharjo, Sleman, Yogyakarta peasants, which took the form of a rally to the local parliament in Yogyakarta; this was followed by a hunger strike in the grounds of YLBHI Jakarta, to protest the muzzling of three national magazines (*Tempo, Editor* and *DeTIK*), in which 43 SMID activists from a number of branches were arrested by the police; As well as this, SMID was actively involved in the SIUPP alliance (Indonesian Solidarity for a Free Press), which organised mass actions and campaigns to protest the muzzling of the press by the government; Then a SMID alliance action with Ngawi peasants, who were demanding the return of their rights to use land which involved one thousand people, two hundred students and the remainder peasants, in occupying the grounds of the offices of the Ngawi Regent; followed by an action with peasants of Ramunia, Deli Serdang, Medan.

Together with Ramunia peasants, SMID went to the parliament and held a free speech rally to demand the return of lands who's right of ownership was the peasants of Ramunia, which was controlled by PUSKOPAD Dam Bukit

Barisan; and then a rally with P.T. GGI (Tangerang) workers to demand an increase in the minimum wage and food allowance, on January 10, 1995; Together with PPBI, a May 1 commemorative rally, celebrated for the first time under the New Order regime. This rally resulted in the arrest and interrogation of fourteen SMID members and leaders; together with SPRIM, SMID launched an action to the National Human Rights Commission to oppose and protest the arrest of East Timorese comrades arrested by the Central Jakarta Police on June 4, 1994; as well as this, many other mass actions have been carried out by SMID branches which have already been consolidated, among these: a mass action by the SMID Solo branch protesting against the muzzling of the Jember University literature faculty's magazine in Solo; a joint action by the Semarang branch with workers from P.T. Plastisindo in Semarang; a joint action by the Surabaya branch with Kediri peasants a the regional parliament in Surabaya; a joint action by the Jakarta branch with Ramunia peasants; and others.

By learning from more advanced student movements such as those in the Philippines, India and Nepal, which play an active role in a number of international forums to obtain and give international support to their people and anti-imperialism/colonialism, SMID sought to become members of the Asian Students Association (ASA) -- Fretilin was registered as an observer member -- and SMID was accepted as a member at the 12th general conference in New Dili in December 1992. ASA also allowed SMID to be present at Asia-Pacific student movement meetings. SMID utilised forums held by ASA by sending delegates to learn from more advanced movements. In a general way ASA reflects the leadership of those elements of the student movements which were aligned with progressive political parties in their respective countries (at least 56 mass, national student

organisations have become members of ASA). Furthermore, one of their members -- Kamal B, a member of the Network of Overseas Student Conference in Australia (NOSCA) who had been to Indonesia to observe and join with the Indonesian student movement -- was killed in the Dili massacre. And at this ASA general conference, SMID was accepted as the coordinator of the Southeast Asian Sub-Region.

The goals and aims of SMID, as found in its constitution are:

1. To unite students and the student movement to struggle against the repressive, authoritarian regimes which oppress people;

2. To campaign, struggle for, and create civil liberty;

3. Along with workers, peasants, oppressed sectors of society and other democratic forces to campaign, struggle for and create a multi-party system (outside of the traditional parties which exist at the moment) which is democratic;

4. To campaign, struggle for and create an education system which is scientific, democratic, inexpensive and people orientated;

5. To be active in building international solidarity for world peace and democracy which is anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist, including support for the right to self-determination and independence for the Maubere people.

And, in the same manner PPBI, in its program, SMID also reflects an active support in assisting the Maubere peoples' struggle for independence. Because of this, these

organisations have held actions or released statements both in protest over human rights violations against the Maubere people and in support of the Maubere peoples' independence through a referendum. And finally, SMID, PPBI, STN (National Peasants Secretariat) and JAKER (Peoples Arts Network) lead the formation of SPRIM.

Final developments. Represented by SMID and PPBI, the pro-democracy movement has already increased the level of its activity. The are increasing and taking up activist campaigns in a wide range of issues, including working class rights, wages and working conditions, freedom of the press and independence for the Maubere people.

Another important political development emerged in June, 1994; when the Soeharto dictatorship muzzled three major news weeklies, *Tempo, Editor* and the tabloid *DeTIK*. A large part of the street protests denouncing this muzzling and revealed the essence of support among student activists, primarily those from SMID. Support was also organised by small groups of militant activists around YLBHI, which had a broad network of contacts in the layers of the younger and more militant liberal-democratic opposition. Not a single section of the liberal-democratic opposition ran any serious campaign, that was the crucial picture of the protests against the newspaper muzzlings. In reality, in many cases, these publications largely reflected their political views. Certainly, several elite opposition groups, such as the Petition of 50, Forum Democracy and more vocal student groups such as PIJAR (Information and Network Centre for Reform) issued statements against the muzzling. A number of PIJAR activists also joined in attending meetings. However, while this was so, without SMID's strength, it would not have become a mass campaign.

The lack of mechanisms such as fair elections, and the fact that the liberal opposition has no mass, activist strategy, means that it is extremely difficult for us to estimate the authority of the elite opposition's leadership of the working and middle classes. It appears as if their credibility has been eroded significantly as a result of their inability to defend these publications which in reality reflected their own ideology. One sign is the decline in PIJAR's activities. In 1993, PIJAR allied with other student groups were able to organise and launch a number of street demonstrations. In 1994, they only organised a few actions, the major one being outside the State Court during the trial of activists which had been arrested at a previous action in 1993 and campaigns around the issue of repression of ex-political prisoners. I appears that PIJAR's activists were also involved in the formation of ALDERA (Peoples' Democratic Alliance), which primarily involves student and ex-student activists which is not a tightly organised group compared to PIJAR itself. So far, ALDERA has only been able to organise a number of public meetings, however, without significant involvement of the organised working class. Over this time, PIJAR and ALDERA initiatives in 1994 were relatively sparodic, as a consequence of their dependency on alliances with elite opposition groups, however, in the future they may grow to become a pôle of attraction for the radical opposition against the Soeharto dictatorship.

In a situation when the elite opposition cannot move forward (what happened was in fact the reverse, they have faltered after the shock of the press muzzling), there emerged a significant development in the central leadership of PRD (United Peoples' Democracy) which deserves attention. There are two examples which can illustrate this event:

1. In the end of June, 1994, PRD postponed a hunger strike in the grounds of YLBHI in Jakarta to protest the press muzzlings, perhaps in the thought that this action would overtake other forces. Faced with hesitation like this, student activists moved forward and took the initiative to organise the hunger strike which was initiated by SMID national, and PRD was only invited as a speaker. (In a meeting between representatives of the national PRD network and representatives of the SMID national network, it can be concluded that was not just the postponement of the hunger strike which was desired by PRD, but the cancellation of this action, although plans for this action had already been carried in the mass media.)

2. In reality, at PRD's founding congress it had already been agreed by resolution to support the right to self-determination and a referendum for the people of East Timor however, in the PRD manifesto and declaration which was published, this resolution was deviated and/or softened to become support for human rights and the democratic rights of the East Timorese people.

SMID's technique of taking the initiative in the organisation of political campaigns and actions has continued since the middle of 1994. SMID's major campaign has been directed at an effort to build student-worker alliance, which could campaign both for democratic rights as well as an improvement in economic conditions. The frequency of joint student-worker rallies and demonstrations has increased, both on and off campus. Since the end off October, more and more these actions have been carried out jointly by SMID and PPBI. SMID and PPBI have also raised other issues, such as supporting self-determination for the people of East Timor and the SMID and PPBI delegations who visited Australia in December and openly campaigned on the East

Timor issue. PPBI's new bulletin, the Worker's Banner, also raises the issue of East Timor. They are also one of the elements which supported the November 12 action in 1994, at the American Embassy -- moreover they assisted in safeguarding the participants of the action (which had escaped arrest and could not enter the embassy) and protested to the National Human Rights Commission over the detention of 30 Maubere comrades who had been arrested on June 4, 1995.

The SMID-PPBI combination is capable of reaffirming the radical strength in PRD -- primarily that based in the provincial branches which have or will be established -- and return PRD to a more radical course and perspective. The other possibility is that the SMID-PPBI combination will take over the position of PRD, as a pole attraction for radicalising the layers of students and workers, primarily in this country's large cities. In this finally, the SMID-PPBI-STN grouping will be able to lead 10,000 peasants from STN's base, as a reaction against the many peasant land appropriations primarily in Java and Sumatra which have been carried out by the New Order regime.

The same repression, the contemptible and merciless violence has also been experienced by the Maubere people. Since 1975 the New Order military regime has annexed -- in a brutal colonial manner --East Timor. Thus began the dark times full of suffering for the ex-Portugese colony. The massacre of two hundred and fifty thousand people is not a thing easily forgotten by the Maubere people, who will never accept the New Order regime as their master. Truthfully, the sprinkling of resistance has arisen (and has still not stopped) is proof that the Soeharto regime is not the choice of the Maubere people to develop their country. The Soeharto regime, which has been there for 19 years, has

been unable to gain the Maubere peoples' trust, meaning that basically, it does not have the right to claim that East Timor is the 27th province of Indonesia. This is because the right to self-determination is the fundamental agenda of the struggle of the Maubere people and, thus, this should become one of the demands of the Indonesian democratic movement. The resistance for the sake of the struggle is carried by the Maubere youth, beginning with their guerrilla war resisting Indonesian soldiers, popular mass actions in the cities and international campaigns and negotiations under the auspicious of the United Nations and international forums. And what is being built now, although it has yet to demonstrate its maximum capacity, is a push and unity within the Indonesian democratic movement, so that the Indonesian pro-democratic movement will be able to give genuine support for the Maubere peoples' struggle for their independence. All of this must become a part of the strategy and tactics of all Maubere activists to pressure the Soeharto regime to withdrawal its soldiers from East Timor and give the Maubere people to right to hold a referendum.

Acts of arbitrary and indiscriminate use of power have also been experienced by Acehenese freedom fighters. In 1992, Two thousand Acehenese people were slaughtered for being suspected of being involved in the Free Aceh Movement. The Free West Papua Moment has also brutality butchered; more than 800 West Papuan people were killed in 1991. Not yet counting the repression taken against the pro-democracy movement.

The wars in East Timor and Aceh have caused many children of peasants and the urban poor to die in vain - only for defending themselves against the blood sucking and oppressive regime -- that is the reason for so many

provisions and requests from them to end this war, which has consumed so many of their children.

The most effective pressure to corner this brutal regime, and most certainly one which will broaden the scope of the campaign over the issue of the Maubere peoples' right to independence, is the issue of the Maubere peoples' independence becoming a political program and agenda of the Indonesian pro-democratic movement, which must be carried out from two sides; from within the country -- through the pro-democratic movement, which is active in strategic sectors along with real forces (workers-students-intelectuals-democrats-peasents); in strategic areas (JABOTABEK, GERBANGKERTASUSILA, Semarang, Medan, Bandung, Solo, Yogya, Malang, Bali); and with effective political tools (mass actions, dissemination of information, pamphlets, open campaigns) -- and on the other side outside the country -- united with the democratic movement of workers, students, youth and intellectuals; in countries wherever there are Maubere and Indonesian people with sympathies with the Maubere and Indonesian people (East Timorese -- for us East Timor outside of the sovereignty of our country - Australia, Portugal, Northern Europe, Japan, America, Mozambique, South Africa, Libya, Iraq, the Philippines, North and South Korea, Nepal and so on); with mass actions at Indonesian embassies and consulates and a broad campaign of diplomatic pressure. The difficulty with Maubere peoples' struggle for independence being resolved only at the official international negotiating table, through official international institutions such as the United Nations, the European Economic Community, CGI and the Non-Aligned Movement, is principally based on the Soeharto regime's fear that independence is given to the Maubere people this action will ignite other separatist movements in Indonesia.

Because of this, the moment has already arrived to unite the struggle demanding prosperity, political freedom, social justice, and genuine independence for the Indonesian and Maubere people. We are oppressed by the same power. The bullets which riddle the bodies of Maubere patriots are the same bullets which kill Indonesian pro-democratic activists. The weapons which are imported from America, Australia, England, Sweden and Germany are the same weapons used to kill the Indonesian and Maubere people, as when Indonesia was under the power of Dutch colonialism for 350 years.

We intend to show the international community that now the Maubere peoples' struggle will obtain support from the pro-democratic movement which has a real strength in Indonesia; we will reveal in front of the Indonesian people, the depravity, brutality, and the illegality of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor; it is the moment for us to gather our new forces to become more confident and sophisticated.

II. About SPRIM

SPRIM is based on a political agenda and program aiming to: democratise the whole of Indonesian society and support the self-determination and independence of the Maubere people.

SPRIM is a single organisational front established in March 1995. SPRIM is made up of PPBI, SMID, STN, JAKER and the Maubere comrades themselves, which are grouped in the organisations CCONTLI (Comicao Cordenadora Organisacoes Nasionalista Timor Leste), RENETIL (Resistencia Estudante Nasionalista Timor Leste), GOD (Groupos Onze),

AST (Assosiacao Sosialista de Timor) and ANVISTI (Comite Activade nao Vio-lencio e Solidardade Timorense).

SPRIM in its political activities believes in the strength of mass action, and the forms of official national and international negotiations, which have already been established to strengthen the struggle of the Maubere people. The diversity of SPRIM's members proves that the struggle of the Maubere people has already received support not only from students, but also from workers, peasants and the artistic community. This therefore, makes it easier for SPRIM's campaign work to be taken to all the layers of oppressed society in Indonesia, which now is already indicating its initial strength which has the potential to develop as a real democratic strength.

SPRIM has already planned an initial work agenda formed of: publications -- primarily large scale information distribution -- campaigns -- most importantly those which push the issue of independence for the Maubere people to become part of the political agenda of the pro-democratic movement, for example its inclusion in the agenda of newly formed alliances, KPRI (the Indonesian Peoples' United Movement) -- and mass actions principally aimed at related institutions, which are bear responsibility for the independence of the Maubere people.

II. Strategy and Tactics

1. Distribution of information throughout all sectors of Indonesian society about the Maubere Peoples's independence struggle;

2. Distribution of information and build a reaction in Indonesian society and internationally about the acts of the New Order regime against the Maubere people;

3. Push pro-democratic movement groups to support the independence struggle of the Maubere people in their political agendas;

4. Convince the international community that the people of Indonesia support the independence struggle of the Maubere people;

5. Seek an opportunity and basis of mass support -- with a real strength in political bargaining with the New Order regime -- to demand

- a halt to war,
- the withdrawal of all military powers (including police) from East Timor,
- the formation of a provisional Maubere peoples' government,
- and to value the right to self-determination -- as independence -- of the Maubere people through referendum, as soon as possible.

[1] SMID (Student Solidarity for Indonesian Democracy) is the most significant student and labour organisation which has taken the lead in developing the worker-student alliance within the democratic movement since the New Order seized power.